

SOME BRIEF

[12.]

REMARKS

ON THE

DEBATES

OF THE

House of Commons

In the last

PARLIAMENT

AT

OXFORD.

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To the READER.

Reader,

IT is not any Itch I have of Scribbling, nor vanity to be in Print, makes me Publish the following Sheets. Their being Writ two years ago and thrown by, and that the Author will never be known, will clear me from both Crimes. I know my own Weakness too well to value my self for any thing in it but Honesty, to which I hope I have as just a pretence as any man. But I think Honest Reflections on things was never more necessary than now, when vast numbers of men call it Injustice to search out and prove Treason, and Cruelty to punish the Traytors.

The Debates of the House of Commons at Oxford was so plain a Prologue to the late Conspiracy, that it seems to me as great a Witness for the King, as any he hath; and I Publish these Remarks that others may see it as well as I.

The subject would require more to be Writ on it than is fit for a Pamphlet; and therefore I have only taken notice of some things, and that very briefly. I have referr'd you to their own words; and thereby you may conclude I aim not, if I could, at making any thing appear worse than it is, nor will any have reason to be Angry, whom Truth will not offend. I must add here some few Remarks I had forgot, and have not time to look for a place to bring them in among the rest, (viz.) Pag. 8. R. M. Scruples not to say, That the Kings telling them in his Speech that he would stick to his Resolution as to the Succession, and his proposing an Expedient, is Arbitrary and French, and that it was the Kings Design to Cow the Parliament to bring them to Oxford.

Now I would fain know whether Instructions from the Country be not as Arbitrary (tho not so French) as from the King; and

To the Reader.

in this more Arbitrary, that His Majesty only says what he will not do, but the Country directs what they will have done. But the Gentlemen's design was to Asperse the King, and Ingratiate himself with the Multitude, and therefore labours hard to create new Jealousies between him and his People, saying, The King designed to Cow the Parliament, And in short strikes at the Government, all at once : And adds, That neither Bishops nor Councillors, neither Ministers of State, nor those of the Gospel, have endeavour'd to preserve Religion or Safety.

T. B. pag. 10. Tells you plainly, They must let Blood, which I suppose is one of his Expedients to Fortify the Bill ; by this he either meant a War, or letting of such Blood as the Nation is already too much stain'd with, or he had no meaning.

Sir N. C. Ibid. Makes Rebellion an Expedient ; As I understand, saith he, 'tis propos'd the Government shall be in Regency during the Dukes Life : I would be satisfied if the Duke will not submit to that, whether those that Fight against him, are not Traytors in Law.

And to shew how little I am mistaken in calling these Debates a Prologue to the late Conspiracy. In pag. 16. H. B. says, The same Interest which passeth the Bill here, will do it in Scotland. Had this Parliament sat a little longer, we should have call'd this very Conspiracy an open Rebellion. And since from their own Mouths you have their Intentions, and that they agree with what the Conspirators themselves since have own'd ; You will not I hope choose such Members again, when His Majesty thinks fit to call a Parliament. My Intention is to contribute to your Peace and Safety, and that every man may enjoy the Fruits of his Labour, and sit quietly under his own Vine, and his own Figg-tree.

SOME BRIEF

REMARKS

On the DEBATES of the

House of Commons

In the last PARLIAMENT at OXFORD.

THe Safety of the Kings Person, and the Preservation of the Protestant Religion have been the great Discourses of our three last Parliaments, and took up all the little time of that at *Oxford*; but such Methods were propos'd, that 'tis wonderful to think that Wise and Honest men could believe them Practicable. For had the Enemies of our King, of our Religion, and Country studied wayes to ruine us, they could not have pitch'd on fitter. The People were perswaded to Thwart the King, and that his and their Interest were not only Distinct, but Opposite; and at last were wrought upon to desire things so Extravagant, that 'twas impossible His Majesty could grant them with less Inconvenience than His Own and the Monarchy's Ruin.

Our Story tells us of no Prince that did Oftner, or more Readily Comply with the Desires of His People, and it was a very Ill Return for His many Condescensions, to press that upon Him, which no good man could grant: And it was yet worse, that when He told them so, they press'd it again and again.

I dare appeal, not only to any man of good Sense, but to any good Natur'd man, whether he doth not think, that what was propos'd concerning the *Succession*, was most Unreasonable and Unnatural. Let us make the Case our own, and consider the Tyes of Nature and Friendship; and then let us judge what we would do our selves: No man that is not wanting of both, can think a Brother, Behaving himself like a Brother in every thing, could deserve such Severity: No Member then sitting in the House, I dare say, would have dealt so Unkindly with such a Brother. Yet they Complain of the King for not doing, what none of themselves would do: But the more we consider their Proceedings, the more Unreasonable they will appear.

With what Confidence could it be expected, that the King should Disinherit His Onely Brother, His Companion in, and Sharer of all His Misfortunes: He who Suffer'd so much with Him, and hath so often Ventur'd his Life Bravely for Him, and for the Honour and Preservation of His Kingdoms?

Was it to be hop'd the King should think, that the Preservation of the Monarchy, and of the Religion Establish'd, was Design'd, when the only thing insisted on, were to Alter the Succession, and to Repeal the Laws against Dissenters?

Could any thinking man believe, that the King did not see, that to alter the *Succession*, was to give a President: A thing much insisted on, and urg'd in Parliament; and that it would give a sort of Right to the People in the Disposing of the Crown, their Representatives being a Party Naming the next Successor? And by this means they would have

have a kind of Pretence when they Pleas'd to Rebel, to do it by Law. How could any man of Sense believe, that the King did not see, how much this would have Lessen'd Himself, and put the Authority into the Peoples Hands ? and that it was the High-way to a *Commonwealth*, the *Bill of Exclusion* gives colour enough to suspect it.

Doth it not appear by Complaining against the Bishops, and the offer to Repeal the Laws made by the Famous Protestant Queen *Elizabeth*, against *Dissenters* ; that the greater number were *Dissenters*, the Bill having pass'd the House ; and can the King be thought so soon to forget, that from these *Dissenters* sprung His own, and all His Loyal Subjects Miseries ? Why should we think His Majesty so Ignorant of what was done in Queen *Elizabeths* days, as to believe He doth not know that other *Dissenters*, as well as the *Papists*, were Included in that Act, and more Particularly at that time ?

For it was a Conspiracy of the *Presbyterians* against her Majesty and Council, which occasion'd that Statute ; and have these men Express'd their Loyalty to the King, His Father and Grandfather, as to Encourage Him to Repeal the Laws made against them ? Let him who hath Read History, and Remark'd who are the Disturbers of His Majesties quiet, judge.

How Reasonable is it for the King to Trust these People, when His Father (of Blessed Memory) wou'd have Gratified them, if they would have own'd it Unlawful to take up Arms against him on the Account of Religion ? yet they deny'd it : And can it be severe to believe, that they who pretend Conscience will not let them Submit to a Monarchy in the Church, though Legally Estab-

blish'd; but that they will, when they think convenient, find a Conscience not to admit it in the State neither. What ills may we not expect from men, whose Actions have been so Notoriously wicked, and whose Principles so void of Reason, as to hold this for one, *That it is Lawful by His Majesties Authority to take up Arms against His Person*. These are the Encouragements the King hath to Trust them.

Those Laws, which Establish'd the *Protestant Religion* amongst us, cannot but be the best to Secure it; and therefore it is most Reasonable they should be put in Execution: And for further Argument why they should, it won't be amiss to observe, that the Government can have no Advantage or Ease by its Connivance at the Laws. For these, who most Complain, are they who have found most of the Kings Lenity; and no *Dissenters* do Conform, or do at all Comply with the Government, though it hath been so Favourable to them these twenty three years past. But instead of Complying, as in Duty they are Bound, they turn His Majesties Mercy into Wantonness; they use it for an Argument why they should Transgress, and as they always were, are still Ungrateful.

Had any Member in *Queen Elizabeths* time mov'd for a Repeal of the Act made the 35th. of her Reign, I doubt not but he had been judg'd an Enemy to both Church and State; and I must confess, I suspect them who move for it now. For I am such a *Protestant* as She was, and think none *Protestants*, who are not such.

A *Jesuit* may, and often hath put on a *Phanatick Vizard*, and it fits exactly, for both are against the Kings Supremacy; but the Religion of the Church of *England*, as now it is by Law Establish'd; prevents any Disguise; the
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Kings Authority both in Church and State, being the great Security of it ; for which Reason among many others, may God Preserve it, as it is.

It is certain, that it ruins a Nation to Alter the Fundamental Laws of it, and *England* hath Wofully Experienced it: That to Alter the *Succession*, is a Breach of the most Fundamental Law of *England*, admits no Dispute.

If the Customs of *England* be Fundamental Laws, then a *Succession* of above Six Hundred Years is Fundamental ; all our Pretences to the Ancient Customs of the Land, which is our *Common-Law*, must fall, if this one doth ; our claim to them being no better, and by the Law of God not so good.

The Kings Relations and Family can be no less Dear to Him than ours are to us ; and it's therefore Ridiculous to think he will give away their Right, any more than we will part with what belongs to ours.

It is at least an Extravagant Confidence to propose that to the King to do, which, were it in His Choice to make us do, we should call him, or think him, a Tyrant, if he did it.

Who can reasonably Complain of the Kings not Complying, when what is desir'd is against Conscience and Nature ? If I were Sick, and my Physician should tell me, that nothing would give me Ease, but letting out my Hearts Blood, I am sure I should think him Mad, and could never take his Advice. It appears to me as Unreasonable an Advice in these Physicians of the State, that one should Ruin his long-tryed Friend, and onely Brother. Here I might take an opportunity to say much of his *Royal Highness*, but that neither he nor his Actions are so Inconsiderable,

considerable, as not to be known to the World, and will, by all good men be spoken of with Honour. The Bad are ever Ungrateful, and Reason and Truth to them is Heresie ; but Excluding the Duke was not the Houses only Aim ; for it was Insisted on by a Member, *That all about the King should be Remov'd* ; nay 'tis said, *They Must be Remov'd*. Removing of Ministers this way, was the Beginning of our Late Troubles, and this is press'd and rav'd on now ; and can it be expected, that the King, who Suffer'd under the bitter Consequences of it, can approve it ? When a People who have Power are Complied with, after many Denyals, they rather think they Prevail than Obtain.

It is said too by the same Member, *That though Ministers have been alter'd, yet the Government hath been in such Hands as that the same Principles remain* ; So that it is plain the Government was the thing they would be at, and that in no other hands but their own, they resolv'd it should be thought safe, or such as were of their Principles, which is just the same thing.

The late Kings Removing of Ministers was one means of bringing on his Death (his Death never to be Forgotten) and his present Majesties Exile, who since his Restoration hath tryed the hairs of the same Doggs who Bitt him, to Cure his Wounds, but he finds their Heads had done better.

As the King always did, he will no doubt still Choose his own Ministers ; for if the House do it, that is the next door to a *Commonwealth*, which he can never be thought to admit ; and except that when men have a mind to pick a quarrel, they will Impose Unreasonable things, see not why this was offer'd. His

His Majesty hath such Ministers as he Approves of, and I cannot doubt but he knows how to Order the Affairs of the Nation best of any Body, because his Council consisteth of the Best and Wisest of it ; whose Honours and Interests will Oblige them to give their best Council ; and sure none can judge better what Advice is most proper than the King, whose Judgment is Inferior to no mans, whose Intelligence must be the best through all the World, and whose Interest is the Good of his Kingdoms.

The King doth not Govern but by Law, and every Act of his is guided by it ; insomuch that the very Form the Law prescribes, is observ'd by him. How reasonable then are these Complaints of the Government ?

Nor are the Laws the Square only for the Kings Actions, the Fundamental ones ought to be so for the *Lords* and *Commons* too, since we can have no other Rule, by which we can judge what is Arbitrary or not ; and therefore the Parliament, or any Power whatsoever, acting contrary to them, is Arbitrary.

The great Charter of *England* is by none denyed Fundamental, and by it the Liberties of the People are Limited as well as their Properties Secur'd ; and there you will find no Authority given to Alter the *Succession*, which by *Common Law* (which is also Fundamental) is the Next Heirs, that is, the just claim of every the meanest *Commoner of England*. The Excluding the Duke, is therefore so much the more Unreasonable, because it is denying only of the Kings Family that Law, which is common to all others.

I do conclude therefore that the *Bill of Exclusion* was Morally Unjust and Illegal, as well as Irreligious ; and that

that the *Commons* assum'd to themselves an Arbitrary Power in Offering such a *Bill*, because it is against the Fundamental Laws of the Nation: Such an Act would therefore have been an Act of Power, but no Legal one.

But lest I may seem too Fond of my own Opinion in offering it in Opposition to the whole *House*; and lest Truth coming from a Private Hand, may not receive its due value, which it ought to have for its own sake, though it came from a Cottage; I do here give you to second my Opinion, that of the whole Kingdom, the Just Acknowledgment of a Parliament full of the Sense, as well of those Unparalell'd Wrongs done to His Majesties Family, as of His extraordinary Grace and Mercy, to those who Occasion'd them. A Parliament bound by Duty and Gratitude to speak Truth.

Act Anno 13th. Car' 2d. 1660.

The Words of the Act are these, viz.

And it is by the said Act declared, that by the undoubt Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, neither the Peers of the Realm, nor the Commons, nor Both together in Parliament, nor the People Collectively or Representatively; nor any other Person whatsoever ever had, hath, or ought to have any Coercive Power over the Persons of the Kings of this Realm.

Now by the Persons of the Kings, must be meant all who in a Legal Descent may Come to the Crown, since there cannot be but one King at one time, and the King never Dyeth; and I desire to know if the *Bill of Exclusion*

it self, did not acknowledge the *Duke* to have as much Title to the *Crown*, as any Loyal man will allow ; that is, whether by Endeavouring to Exclude him, they did not at the same time acknowledge his Legal Title by Blood to the *Crown*, should he Out-live the King, and his Majesty Die without Heirs. If so, I dare affirm, the *House of Commons* did take to themselves a Coercive Power, contrary to the undoubted Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and that it was to the last degree Arbitrary.

From what men say, we can only judge what they think ; and I hope the following Observations are so Natural, that none can say, I have forc'd a meaning on any thing said in the Debates.

Sir W. C. pag. 1. says, *That the Weight of England is the People, and the more they will know, the Heavier it will be, and that in all Ages they have Sunk ill Ministers of State.* Without straining this Gentlemans words, I think he may be call'd a *Republican* ; for if the People (which he tells you are only the *Honest Commons*) be the Weight of *England*, it doth follow that they are the greatest Power in it. Now for my part, I think the Government is the Weight of *England* : But as to the Sinking quality of these People, he might have observ'd, that they have Sunk good Ministers too, as the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Bishop of *Canterbury* ; nay, it was this mighty Weight, which shew'd it self heavy beyond Example, and Arraign'd the best of Kings, and Cut of his Head. It was the *Commons* of *England*, as he calls them ; men, just so dissatisfied as these are now : It was these so magnified *Commons*, who Voted the *Lords* Useless, turn'd us to a *Commonwealth*, and made Loyalty a Crime. It was those, who made Presents of
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their Plate to support *Cromwells* Army ; who now deny the King what is Necessary to support his Grandure at Home, and his Right and Honour Abroad. If he would have them be Weighty, let them be Loyal, for without Loyalty they will become a Prey , to every one inclin'd to Conquest, and be once again such a wonder, as a Monster is, and the derision of Nations.

H. B. pag. 2d. tells us, *That Printing the Votes is like Plain Englishmen, who are not asham'd of what they do.* Now Sir, because the word Sham is much in Fashion, and I am as much Tickl'd with it as any Body, I will call this a Sham ; for e're he comes to the end of his Speech, he is not so plain an *English-man* as in the beginning ; for he would have some parts of their Transactions left Unprinted ; that is, all such Votes and Resolves, as might let the People see plainly how they were leading them into a *Rebellion*, and like *Æsops* Crow, would have borrow'd their own Feathers, to Cheat them out of those Liberties and Properties his Majesty and his Royal Ancestors have given them : If this is a plain *English-man*, I dare affirm, he had been a Plainer and Honester one, had he been generally against all their Transactions.

Collonel M. Hopes that *his Posterity will do, as he among the rest hath, that Meeting, and the former done, and is for having all Christendom know what they do :* I need not tell you what this Gentlemans Example hath been, but will add this Wish in compliance to his Hopes, that if his Children follow his steps, they may be a greater and more publick Example than he hath been.

Most Profound Sir *F. W.* who *pag. 2.* doth dread a man in the *Secretaries* post, to hold an opinion, *That Printing*
Votes

Votes is an Appeal to the People ; yet cannot find our Colonel M. who doth actually appeal, when he sayeth, *He would have the World to judge their Actions* ; but the Collonel was not in the *Secretaries* post, else he had certainly found him out, and would have dreaded him as much, if he were as well affected to the Crown : But I do not a little wonder at his question, viz. *Pray who sent us hither?* it is strange that a man pretending to Law and Reason, could think that Question necessary. I did not imagine that so Famous a man cou'd be ignorant that the Kings Writs Call'd them, and when his Majesty pleases, he sendeth them away. Now had he ask'd who sent for them, the question had been too plain to juggle with ; but see how he lardeth his Discourse with Truth, to hide his Sophistry. *The Privy. Council*, saith he, *is Constituted by the King, but the House of Commons is the Choice of the People.* Now 'tis true that the *Privy. Council* is constituted by the King, and 'tis true that the Members of the *House of Commons* are Chosen by the People ; but yet the *House* is not Constituted by the People, nor doth he say it is, altho to the Ignorant it would seem he did, and I think there is no room for a doubt, but that it was his intention when the *Votes* were Read in Print, that the Persons who read them should think so.

But every one, who Votes in Elections, knoweth that he only Votes for a Member when his Majesty is pleas'd to Call a Parliament, and not at his own Pleasure ; and when the Members are chosen, his Majesty appointeth *Westminster* or *Oxford*, or where he pleaseth, and not they who Elect : Let every Honest *Commoner* remember that all he doth, is in Obedience to the Kings Writ

I am confident it never enter'd into any mans head to think that he could Elect a Parliament Member, till the Kings Writ requir'd it, much less send them any where, but where his Majesty appointed ; so you see how little the *House* is Constituted by the People.

But the Design of Printing the *Votes* was certainly to fill the Peoples heads with such imaginations as these, which even to the meanest Capacity must appear ridiculous in the extream ; and to cover so plain a Folly, this Gentleman hath us'd this Art of mixing Truth with Fallacies to make them appear near of one colour.

R. H. pag. 2. Looks upon the slipping the Bill for Repealing the 35th. of Elizabeth to be a Breach of the Constitution of the Government. I do fancy that the Bill for Repealing it, was rather a Breach of the Constitution of the Government : And had this Gentleman look'd narrowly, 'tis odds but that he would have found, that to alter the *Succession*, which he is so forward for, was a greater Breach of our best Constitution, than slipping the Bill was ; but to break the Constitution of the Government, and not to break it, is the same fault, when these worthy Patriots please. But this Gentleman you must know is a Statesman, and tho he seem'd concern'd for the Constitution of the Government, yet he cares no more for it than one great Favorite does for another that is greater than himself, yet gives him good words, and is his humble Servant, till opportunity offers to be otherwise. But he is much concern'd that he should be call'd a *Republican*, and says, *That they who are about to alter the Government will cast it upon others ;* This he proves by undeniable demonstrations, for whilst he is labouring against the *Succession*, he tells you,

you, *Others would alter the Government.* And to follow his simile of the Pick-pockets, like them he tells you, *Others are about to change the Constitution*, only to give you a good Opinion of him and his party; whilst from their own *Votes* you may discover, that they are the People, who with all Cunning, and Industry endeavour to alter the *Government*.

Now if his Majesty will believe this Worthy Member and his Party, they will serve him like a Juggler, and as soon as they have got him to Wink, give him a Box on the Ear.

Sir N. C. Humbly moves, *That for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and Security of the Kings Person, a Bill be brought in against a Popish Successor, and particularly against James Duke of York.*

This is a very humble motion for all its haughty looks, and won't call the Duke his *Royal Highness*, as if he could take away that Title from him, as he would persuade men he can his Right of Blood; and tho it owns *James Duke of York* a Successor particularly, yet you must not think he intends to alter the Succession any more than the rest; who all deny that Design. This is but transmitting, between which and altering, there is as much difference, as between Translating and Cobling; and tho this looks as if the *House* inclin'd towards making this Age like that, in which those that belong'd to that Art were in fashion, yet you must not think so; for then you will be *Popish* and *Arbitrary* immediately. But one may think, that this humble motion, is next door to that part of a Declaration in that Cursed Parliament in the late Kings time, which says, *That they may dispose of the King when they please*: And we may think strange, that so *Protestant* a motion should have

have so ill a ground, as a *Jesuitical Principle*, and yet the most Wise Member not see it, and that it was so far from preserving to us the *Protestant Religion*, that it took all Religion away, and would make us a pack of Villains.

L. G. p. 2. Having little to say (for where little is in, little can come out) tells us for news, *the Duke of York is in Scotland*: and I tell him there he will be, if he take my advice, for the Honourable House are of late, like the *Watch*, who oftner punishes to shew their Power, than for any Offence committed; and commonly he falls under their last, who least deserves it. They would have Impeach'd the *Duke*, and could the *Body Politick* of the Nation (all most Religious Men) have wanted *Witnesses* to prove what was necessary? No, make us thankful for it, *Witnesses* are plenty, and people are now wiser than to starve in a Cooks Shop with Money in their Pockets: But Gentile, Honest Reader, take the pains to throw away a little more time, than what you lose here: and read this Ingenious *Members Speech*, and you will find an extraordinary piece of Wit, by the way of *Simile*, of *Bryers* and *Thorns*: Never man hit on so sharp a thing, there are twenty Boys at *Westminster* of at least twelve years old each, that would have scratch'd their heads, and not brought forth such a one at last: Oh! it is a Divine *Simile*, and no doubt is a *Liberty-keeping*, *Property-preserving*, *Soul-Saving*, *Sin-killing*, and what you please.

The next to it, is Coll. B's. pot. p. 3. which is a very smart *Simile* too, but let that pass. Methinks he might as well have compar'd a Successor to a *Carriers Horse*, that should still keep in the Rode, and it would have been as near to the purpose, and more in his own way. He is glad of the Zeal of the *House* just where he was; more for Zeal than Religion,

Religion, for the Religion the *House* pretends too, admits not of Deposing *Princes*, but the Zeal of the *House* formerly did. But he is for Decency, he says, which that he may the better observe, I desire he may remember the *High Court* of Justice and Scaffold at *Whitehall*, were very indecent, and that they were erected against the *Dukes* Father, and that it is very indecent to suffer such injuries run too much in a Blood. I fear he inclines they should.

W. H. p. 3. Says, That the danger is not from Popery, but from the *Dukes* Creatures, which encompass the King: and if it be so, 'tis wonderful that the King and Kingdom are so long safe. But suppose *W. H.* himself, were about the King, and that the Duke should be kind to him, and get the King to do much for him, would he not be the *Dukes* Creature, and dangerous? yet, on my Conscience he would be such a Creature, or he is much alter'd. I remember his Worship in *Ireland* with the Earl of *Essex*, then in professions at least the *Dukes* Creature, but since alter'd for want of the Government of that Kingdom; for you must know all *Fanaticks* and *Anti-Courtiers* love two Maxims, to which they are very true, to acquire Riches and Power any how, by fair or foul means, the other, no longer Pipe, no longer Dance. But what doth he mean by the *Dukes* Creatures? if it be those who love the Duke, and whom he loves, the King is one of the *Dukes* Creatures; they will not remove Him I hope. He had as good have told us, that he and his Friends wanted places in the Government, and at Court; and till they were provided for, there should be none about the King, but what should be the *Dukes* Creatures, and dangerous, (whether they are or not) and it was easie to make them so, for 'twas but passing

passing a Vote and it was done : Had this gone on , his Majesty by this would have been an odd sort of Creature.

B. W's pag. 3. Speech is nothing but an Impudent Libel against the King. He says, *The Speech was none of the Kings, had nothing of His in it, and that it is flat and short ; That His Majesty was a better Man, and a better Protestant, than to make it Himself, and that they who advised it must Answer for it.* This is a pretty way of calling the King an Ill man and a Papist, and of making him so Simple as not to know how to express his own meaning, or to say any thing he was bid, whether it was his own sense or not. It's one of the Extravagantest pieces of Impudence imaginable to pretend to know any mans Thoughts better than himself ; but that you may see, he said what he did not think, and that his whole design was to throw dirt on the King, he owns it the Kings Speech at last ; for sayeth he, *The King hath gone on, in a resolution as far as this in his Speech, in His Declaration formerly from such a Parliament.* And most of them being such as this Worthy Squire, The King had doubtless reason to expect great things.

Sir W. J. pag. 4. Observes, *That no man knowing in Laws or History, but can tell us that to Bills Grateful and Popular the King gives his Consent.*

He had not shew'd less knowledge in Law or History, had he observ'd, that no Law Countenances such a Bill, nor History gives account, that any People ever offer'd such a one. He seems to infer that the King was bound to give His Royal Assent, and that the People have a right to it, rather than that it is at the Kings Pleasure to grant or deny. This way of Proceeding is so like the *Old Rump*, that I wonder his Majesty was not longer delighted with their Company.

L. G.

L. G. p. 13. Is dissatisfy'd with those Hands in which the Administration of the Government is, and fears the Kings being absolute. This is plain Dealing, but not Honester than the others; he is displeas'd at the Governments being in the *Kings* Hands, for he only reflects on it since His Majesty's Restauration: It seems he likes such hands as it was in before, and would have it so again: he says, *that when a Bank of Money is got for a Popish Successor, then will be the time to take away the King*; but by any thing I see, this Gentleman would have both *King* and *Successor* taken away sooner, or at least the *Kingly* Office. After having express'd himself so ill a man, sure his Assertion will appear only Malicious, and design'd to fill the Peoples heads with groundless Fears and Jealousies; there is nothing of Argument in it to perswade belief, and since he gave no reason for his allegation, it can only be thought to proceed from a deprav'd invention; he appears at least but an angry Spleenatick man, who railes at the Government, the Succession, and the Ministers, because he is not of their number.

The *Bill of Exclusion* is acknowledg'd no sufficient security, and *T. B.* observes it will need further expedients to back it; If it be no security, then 'tis the worst of Expedients, for it forces the *Duke*, (should He come to be *King*) to take up Arms, to recover his Right, and then the next Expedient is an Army for the *Bill* and *Parliament*, and so *to the Left about as you were.*

The Question which *W. H. p. 14.* makes, *whether the Excluding the Duke be honest or not*, is soon answer'd; for that cannot be honest, which is against the Law of God, and the Law of the Kingdom, otherwise there would be no need

of such a *Bill* ; nor could such an *Act* be any more Legal than those *Acts* in King *H*, the 6's time mention'd by Mr. *Legg*, which were declar'd unjust. Tho' they tell us that the Crown is continued in the same Line, yet the Succession is alter'd ; for it is non-sense to me, to call it a Succession, when the next Successor by Blood is Excluded ; so that tho' it be pretended to be continued (because it's perhaps too soon to own themselves against *Monarchy*) yet 'tis apparent, 'tis only made a property ; 'tis made use of as a Vizard by a Robber, which he throws away as soon as he hath committed his Villainy ; For if the Name of *King* and the Office, be both taken away, as they who are most for the *Exclusive Bill* would do, how do we differ from a Republick ? only this, we stay till the people would have it. so ; which would be soon, if but once they could get a finger in Disposing the Crown.

Sir *W. I.* pag. the 12. and 13th. Says, *That by 1 H. 7. all Incapacities are taken away by the possession of the Crown.* I am sure he cannot mean such a possession of the Crown as Mr. *Blood* had ; and if not, then he must mean the possession to be Legal Descent ; such a possession as by Proximity of Blood, a Successor hath after the Death of him who did Possess the Crown, that must be called Possession, which need no other proof than this, that His Majesty's Reign is Dated from His Fathers death, tho' He was not Crown'd in many years after. His Majesty was kept from His Right by Force, but still I hope none will deny His Right ; If then a Right by Blood be the real Possession of the Crown, I do not see how the *Bill* could signifie any thing, nor do I see how this *Bill* could have prevented the Ladies Nature and Conscience from giving *Cæsar* His due,
except

except by the *Bill* they could have taken away her Nature and Conscience, which they allow her to have in the Regency.

I must confess I think, had they put a clause into the *Bill* to prevent her having any Conscience and Nature, it would have much improv'd the matter. And I can as soon believe that the *House of Commons* can give me a Natural Father after I am born, as I can they may take away the *Dukes* Right of Descent; for it is a general rule, that no body can take away that which he hath no power to give; and I suppose the *Commons* will not say they have power to give the Crown: If they do, then 'tis plain what they would be at.

An Act against Common-sense is void saith Sir F. W. p. 14. which is the truest and most ingenious thing he says in that Speech, except this, viz. *That the Lawyers are apt to be on the strongest side*; on which side you may be sure he thought himself, when he spoke. But let us consider this Proposition, and then we shall find the *Bill of Exclusion*, were it an Act, to be void.

First, 'tis thus against Common-sense; the *King* is a *King* by Gods appointment; it is the Almighty's Prerogative to appoint Kings, but I do not find that this Prerogative is given to the King, but on the contrary we find Succession also appointed by God; so that there is no Authority in this matter in the King: The People neither do, nor can pretend any Title to their part in making Laws but from the King; so did the King and People agree in this, here were they concurring who had no right to Concur; and is it not Non-sense to propose a thing to be done by those, who have no Authority to do it?

Secondly, the three Nations have oblig'd themselves by the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* to the King and his Lawful Successors, not such as his Majesty and Parliament should appoint ; for who is a Lawful Successor is already determin'd. So that without Perjury, which is so much the greater by how much the more it is publick , this Bill could not pass. Perjury is certainly against good Conscience, and 'twill be hard then to prove it agreeable to common Sense.

But let us consider it as the *Sheriffs* Case instanc'd, and we shall find such an Act void that way ; for here is the Law binding the Peoples Obedience to the Successors, as well as to the King: This Law is now in force, and they tell you, shall continue so, 'tis not all intended to be alter'd. So that the Act would be void this way ; for if the *Sheriffs* Commission was void, because it had an exception, contrary to Law, so must such an Act fail, because it is an exception far more repugnant both to Law and Reason.

He proceeds further and tells us, *that the same Authority that can make a Descent of the Crown, may modifie it ;* but were his Position true (which is not) yet his conclusion is false, for if I have any part in Authority to make a Descent of the Crown, yet when I have resign'd that Authority, I cannot again re-assume it ; but this Authority never was in the *Parliament*, because not in the *King* ; and if the *Parliament* have not their power from the *King*, they have none at all ; so there is no Authority in this case. But should the People be still so deluded (as by some *Members* 'tis said they are) that they believe nothing, but this *Bill*, can preserve *Religion*, and that they should, (were there another *Parliament* call'd,) pursue that Fancy ; let us consider what reason they

they have, to expect to be gratified by His Majesty, and whether this be any thing more than a *Humour*, or *Frenzy*.

If the Succession be once alter'd, where will it end? For by the same rule, every Successor may be Excluded, and so the Crown comes to be very much in the Peoples dispose; A thing so unreasonable, that tho' 'tis plain that must be the end of the *Bill*, yet none have the confidence to own it to be the Design: The same Right His Majesty hath to the Crown, His Lawful Successor hath, and by an *Exclusive Bill*, the possession of the one is as much unsettled as the Title of the other: and there is no more difference between Excluding the Successor and the Prince himself; than there is between Murdering a Child in the Womb, and Murdering it after it is Born. That the *King* being Gods Vicegerent, cannot Dispose of his Commission but by Gods appointment, is most certain, and it is not pretended that the people have a Right to Dispose of the Crown; they are not yet so mad, for they know the *King* hath a Title by Conquest, which would take away such a pretence; and all men of sense do know that, whatever Laws there are relating to the Crown, are not Laws Establishing the Crown, but the Allegiance and Fidelity of the people, and are like *Confession of Faith*, so many acknowledgments of His Majesty's Right; and were any more pretended by them, it were as ridiculous, as should we pretend that our giving God his Attributes makes him God, tho' it were not so prophane. If *England* have Fundamental Laws and Customs, they cannot be alter'd; if any Customs or Laws be Fundamendal, those binding us to *Allegiance* are, which is justly due to the Successor, as to the present King, and these Laws His Majesty is as much sworn to, as any; so that by

this means there is an impossibility of consenting to the *Bill*. Is it not Treason in one man to endeavour to subvert the Fundamental Laws, and to alter the Government; and is the Treason less, or less dangerous for being the Design of a multitude? Those who directed their Members to pursue the Bill, I think may justly be accus'd of Treason.

But have the People no pretence to a share in Disposing of the Crown, and can their Representatives, who have their Power from them, have any? This is so senseless a Freak, that he who has it, deserves to be begg'd of the King. So that you see tho Sir *F. W.* would have found an Authority to modify the Crown, there is really none, and he is as much mistaken in that, as when he says, *The People sent them thither*; And now let us take a short view of all was doing, and see how reasonable it was, and how much to the purpose pretended.

The first thing we will observe shall be the care of the *Protestant Religion*, and the way they were on, for preserving it, and that was by repealing the Act of the 35 of Queen *Elizabeth*; which was the great Instrument that settled the Church as it is. Now how could this miss? For then those men who will not submit to the Laws, might have done what they pleas'd; a certain way to settle the Church.

But there is a knot of foolish Fellows, of which I am one, that think this, and *Uniting Dissenters*, was to make a Law, that who pleas'd might Rebel? nay, they think the *House of Commons* made themselves too cheap, when they would have made a Law, to please them, who condemn the Laws already made; and so oppinionating this Knot is, that they believe themselves better Friends to the

Protestant Religion and the *Parliament* for being for having the Laws put in Execution, than any who are for repealing them; and they almost doubt whether a Motion, much less a *Bill*, for repealing was at all offer'd; for they say, who in that great Assembly could be so foolish to move, that, since People will not obey the Law, let us Enact, that they may choose whether they will or not.

The next thing was the Preservation of his Majesty's person, and in order to this, the former Parliament which consisted of the same Members for the most part, were for Disbanding his Guards, and sending some of them to *Tangier*; an undoubted way to secure his Person; but upon the word of Mr. Colledge there was no Plot notwithstanding this.

This last Parliament was for removing all about his Majesty and altering the *Succession*; and who can deny this to be a way to secure both his Person and Crown to themselves.

Then for the Preservation of the *Protestant Religion* and Security of His Majesties Person, the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* were to be Dispens'd with; and this was their Care of His Majesty, and such was their dislike to *Papery*, that like *Jesuits*, they would have Dispens'd with our *Allegiance* to our Prince, and like the *Inquisition* were for Excluding the next Lawful *Successor*, for not being of their Opinion. Are not these pure marks of Loyal Subjects, and *True Protestants*: But God be prais'd the King is safe, and so is the Church, and we have heard of no *Plots* against either since the Parliament sat, but then indeed *Plots* rumbled so amongst us, we were almost out of our Wits.

To sum up all, who is so blind as not to see, that the Law of God; the Religion of the Church of *England*, the Preservation of the Monarchy and Crown in its due and Legal Descent, the Security of the Kings Person, the Law of Nations, the particular Laws of *England*, of Loyalty and Allegiance, were all alike design'd to be preserv'd by the *House of Commons*; yet for all this they were Dissolv'd. O wonderful!

— *Est Nobilis ira Leonis,*
Parcere subiectis & debellare superbos.

E I N I S.